

The Donegal 'Highland' tunes: origins and movement of a dance-driven genre

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Ón gCos go Cluas

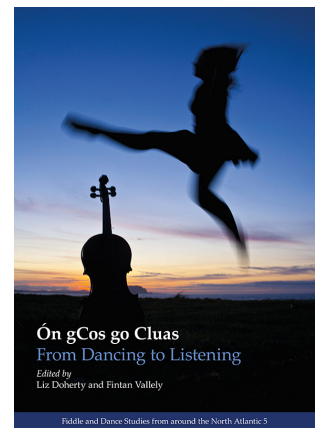
From Dancing to Listening

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The Donegal ‘Highland’ tunes: origins and movement of a dance-driven genre

CAOIMHÍN MAC AOIDH

Origins of the strathspey

Around 1745 James Oswald published two of his compositions each entitled ‘A New Strathspey Reel’.¹ These comprise the first known occurrences of the word *strathspey* to indicate a music-form as a rhythmic variant of the reel. Shortly after, the earliest violin tutor for Scot’s fiddling was published in Perth by James Gillespie and included a limited number of ‘strathspeys’ and ‘strathspey reels’.² Over time the strathspey effectively became the archetypal Scottish traditional form. Its development has been such that it is not only ubiquitous in Scotland, but it was taken by Scots emigrants to Nova Scotia, and Cape Breton in particular, where it remains today a strong element of the local repertoire. All significant Scottish players post-dating Oswald incorporated the strathspey in their repertoires, with many adding new strathspey compositions. Fiddlers’ bowing patterns emphasise the characteristic dotted rhythm, particularly in the ‘Scots snap’ and the ‘driven bow’.³ It is generally accepted that these techniques were initially perfected by Neil Gow (1727–1807). Such has become the popularity of the strathspey that the prolific composer James Scott Skinner (1843–1927) self-styled himself ‘The Strathspey King’.

The strathspey in Ireland

The dispersal of the strathspey in Ireland has not been systematically analysed to date, but there is a received wisdom which has general acceptance. This holds that the strathspey was devised in the mid-1700s in Scotland, travelled to Ireland through returning migrant labourers and only slowly found some favour in northern counties, not spreading south of County Sligo.⁴ This notion of the strathspey having a slow and highly-restricted geographical evolution in Ireland must now be challenged on the basis of the Goodman Manuscripts which contain tunes which were transcribed mostly from pipers in counties Kerry and Cork. It isn’t known when Goodman began to transcribe the material, but since he did begin committing the work to manuscript volumes on 2 May 1861, it seems clear that the actual collecting work was begun prior to that date.⁵ Among Goodman’s tunes, ‘Fr. Murphy’s Quick Step’ (no. 199) demonstrates all the hallmarks of the strathspey, and another (no. 429) is titled ‘Strathspey’.

The former tune is clearly the well-known strathspey 'The Banks of Inverness' or 'The Kilt is my Delight' or, as it is played in Ireland in a reel setting, 'The Kerryman's Daughter'; there is no mistaking his assignment of the second tune. This inclusion in the repertoire of pipers in the far southwest of Ireland suggests that the dispersal of the strathspey from its origins in the Spey Valley of Scotland was more widespread and more rapid perhaps than previously thought. It is worth noting too that the uilleann piper O'Farrell, publishing in London between 1805 and 1810, also includes a number of strathspeys in his work.⁶

The strathspey in Donegal

The dominant medium for the transmission of strathspeys into Donegal would have been seasonal workers, a form of labour migration which did not come to an effective end until as recently as the 1960s. These 'tattie hoking squads' (as they are dubbed), typically male for potato harvesting and female for fish gutting, 'hired' themselves in Scotland for periods of up to six months. Living in 'bothies', squads often had among them at least one member who could provide music for entertainment in the evenings. Accounts of bothy life documenting the assimilation of local Scottish tunes are provided in the autobiographical works of Róise Rua Nic Grianna⁷ and Patrick MacGill.⁸ The memories of the Campbell brothers, Jimmy and Vincent, who worked in construction squads in the Highlands hydroelectric schemes as recently as the mid to late 1950s also confirm such social circumstances.⁹ Some Donegal fiddlers adopted a more proactive approach to learning tunes while in Scotland. Francie Dearn Ó Beirn recounted to me how he came to learn the strathspey 'Agnes Campbell'.¹⁰ One time he had a few hours to pass in Glasgow while awaiting the sailing home, he came upon a Scottish fiddler playing the tune in the street. Keen to learn it, but not wishing to draw attention, he stood in the recess of a doorway until he had it memorised. When he brought the untitled tune home, it became a favourite of his neighbour, Agnes Campbell, and was thus titled after her, but the tune is actually James Scott Skinner's 'Forbes Morrison'. The specific date of arrival of strathspeys in Donegal, where they are most popular in the Irish context, is uncertain, but it is likely that they were being performed there by 1800. Despite the fact that Donegal fiddlers would compose highlands, as well as tunes in other rhythms, with the exception of Tommy Peoples and Séamus Gibson, strathspey composition has not been a feature of the Donegal tradition.

The emergence of the 'highland' in Donegal

This tune type is inexorably tied to the strathspey. Though clearly most popular and abundant in County Donegal, highlands are often erroneously associated exclusively with that county, but in a regional context they actually have been more popular in Ulster. But it is also worth noting that there are highlands in the southern and western parts of Ireland which are all derived from the most common Scottish melodies. By way of example, the collection of tunes by P. J. Giblin published in 1928, documenting some of the repertoire of north Connacht musicians, includes two tunes of interest, namely the 'Scotch Strathspey', 'Stirling Castle', 'Scotch Fling' and the 'Orange and Blue'.¹¹ When, how and even why Donegal musicians first began to create highlands remains unclear. The form appears to have been around now for possibly a century and a half, and folk memory loses much specific detail over such a

time span. Also, the Irish tradition, viewed alongside the Scottish tradition, does not have a comparably-strong base of literary documentation. Little analytical writing is available to confirm the introduction and development of the highland either, but some evidence allows the evolution of the tune type to be established. The vast majority of the highland repertoire in Donegal derives from Scottish strathspeys. In the absence of any pre-existing rhythmic group, or proto-highland, which failed to be passed along to the present, it is reasonable to assume that the Donegal highlands must post-date the mid-1700s at the earliest, given the emergence of the strathspey at that time. In short, a process of transmission has occurred whereby Scottish strathspey melodies were assimilated by Donegal musicians and subsequently adapted into highlands. Further clues to the dating of the highland tradition in Ireland are also deductible from the fact that many of the composers of source strathspeys are known, as are the original dates of publication of many of the more-popular strathspeys which gave rise to highlands.

Complications of terminology

Confusion has existed between the use of terms applied to the highland. The Sligo fiddlers documented in America in the first half of the twentieth century recorded what are considered to be highlands, but under the title ‘flings’.¹² This was also the case with the Irish-Midlands fiddler Packie Dolan.¹³ The manuscripts of the Sliabh Luachra fiddle master Pádraig O’Keeffe contain a limited number of flings too,¹⁴ and the County Antrim fiddler Pat O’Hare consistently called recognisable highlands in his repertoire ‘highland schottisches’.¹⁵ James O’Neill, the transcriber in the O’Neill’s collection projects, composed many tunes, among them (in his sole, surviving manuscript book) a ‘Fling’ (31 March 1900).¹⁶ This shows a distinct, dotted rhythm and could be played either as a strathspey or a highland. In short, highlands have been variously called ‘highlands’, ‘flings’, ‘highland flings’ and ‘highland schottisches’. Indeed, the word ‘schottische’ is sometimes suffixed to highlands by some Irish traditional musicians.

As there is no contemporary corroborative evidence for the local etymology of the term, we are dependent on reasonable theories of explanation regarding the origin of the highland. The most reasonable theory proposed is that held by the late fiddler and scholar, Danny O’Donnell. He believed that the term ‘highland’ originated to distinguish the dance-form known today as a ‘highland’ from a ‘barn dance’, which was alternatively known in parts of Donegal as a ‘german’. The latter is of course associated with the German form ‘schottische’ which had developed in Bohemia by the early 1800s taking its title from the German word for ‘Scottish’.¹⁷ The tune-type was intended to mimic, evoke or to have similarities to Scottish dance rhythms, and several compositions subtitled ‘German Schottische’ quickly appeared, and by the mid-1800s the form had attained a firm popularity in dance-halls across Europe; by the end of that century it had spread to North America, Australia and New Zealand. It was introduced into England in 1848 where it became known as the ‘German polka’.¹⁸

Musicians from a variety of countries began composing schottisches, and composers in Scotland often subtitled their pieces ‘Highland Schottische’, most likely as a mark of national pride and authenticity, and to distinguish the tunes’ provenances from the

otherwise-established 'German Schottische'. Today, such a tune-form is commonly in 4/4 time as is the case with the strathspey. According to Danny O'Donnell, printed scores of both German Schottisches and Highland Schottisches began arriving in the later decades of the 1800s.¹⁹ Local fiddlers, anxious to learn the tunes from those who could read them, correctly concluded that the 'German Schottische' in fact rhythmically equated with what, by then, had been well-established in the Irish tradition as a 'barn dance'. As such, they applied the title 'german' to a barn dance, a usage which still remains in some parts of Donegal. Alternatively, Donegal fiddlers of the late 1800s concluded that the 'Highland Schottische' tunes must therefore equate with a 'highland'. Thus, establishment of the labels for both the 'highland' and the 'barn dance' arose from the attempts to distinguish various forms of the schottische. There is some firm supporting evidence for this interpretation of terminology and dance metres as put forward by Danny O'Donnell. This can be found in the titling of tunes of differing rhythms, and in the dancing tutor-book by James Scott Skinner.²⁰ Also, writing in 1931, Grace Orpen outlined the figures (choreography) for the couple dance which is performed in Donegal for both a highland and a barn dance.²¹ In summary therefore, it is most likely that in Donegal the term 'highland' emerged from the usage of 'Highland Schottische' as applied to adapted strathspeys, and to a much lesser extent, adapted reels and new 4/4 compositions. Likewise, the term 'german' derived from 'German Schottische' as applied to barn dances; the term 'schottische' is not used with any frequency in Donegal at all.

The influences of dancing on the highland as a tune

Having become established as a popular dance rhythm, the highland tune-form was developed by Donegal musicians in four principal ways:

- primarily through the adaptation of strathspeys into highlands;
- by composing new highland melodies;
- by using existing reels as the basis for new highlands;
- through adapting existing song airs.

The adaptation of strathspeys into highlands demonstrates some curious inconsistencies. Some popular strathspeys, such as 'The Ewie wi the Crookit Horn' were converted into highlands, while others, such as 'Stirling Castle', were not. And, an indication that the Donegal fiddlers' instinct to convert strathspeys into highlands has continued to recent times is seen in some of the relatively-recent strathspey compositions of James Scott Skinner being adapted into highlands. While it is popularly believed amongst practitioners that a great deal of the Donegal highlands were composed locally, there is little evidence to support this. Relative to the overall repertoire, only a few highlands are known to have been or suspected of having been, composed locally. Folklore held that it was commonplace for reels which were deemed to be not sufficiently satisfactory for playing would be tested for use as a highland, a view articulated by Packie Manus Byrne: 'Highlands were, and they still are, failed reels, and they're hellish nice tunes'.²² While the highland versions of 'Sportin' Paddy', 'Lord McDonald's', 'The Wheels of the World', 'Drowsy Maggie', and 'The High

Road to Linton’ are each examples of conversions from reels, there is little evidence of this practice having been widespread. Two examples of the adaptation of song airs to highlands are ‘A Stór a Stór a Ghrá’, and ‘A Shéamuis Bhig a’ bhFuil Ocras Ort?’. However, these are exceptions, for the bulk of the Donegal highland repertoire derives from Scottish strathspey melodies.

Influences from dance tradition

A critical factor which must be taken into account when considering the development of the highland over decades is its fundamental co-relationship with dancing. The rhythmic form and the dance were interdependent until the relatively-recent onset of the decline in traditional social dancing. Historically, a musician had to take into account the speed and rhythm of the dancers’ performance, and, once established, it was only natural that local dances continued to evolve. In Donegal, three overall types of dancing highlands emerged, with some local variations in steps being devised. The most common type was a couple dance referred to in the Irish language as the ‘Highland Beag’ (a little highland), sometimes known as the ‘Closed Highland’.²³ A minor variant on this dance contained additional steps and was known as the ‘Highland Garbh’ (a rough highland), sometimes known as the ‘Open Highland’.²⁴ Another, the ‘Highland Gaelach’ (Irish highland) differed significantly in that it was performed by a male flanked on either side by a female²⁵ and danced to the tune ‘The Devil in the Kitchen’.

It is highly likely that the method of adapting strathspeys into highlands is tied to the fundamental differences in the two dances. The strathspey is generally a solo dance performed in a confined space and requiring specific footwork to articulate the characteristic, heavily dotted rhythm. The highland, however, is danced by a couple, and in the typical Donegal dance setting of the central area of houses, typically known as ‘the kitchen’. In this slightly more-spacious setting highlands were danced in a freer form, resulting in a more flowing rhythm, requiring wider, more fluid movement with less concentration on detailed footwork. It is not surprising therefore that the strong dotted characteristic rhythm of the strathspey became smoothed, though not eliminated, in the playing of highlands.

Highland tempo

Tempo is also a primary difference between the two rhythms, as highlands are played faster than strathspeys. Packie Manus Byrne, like other Donegal musicians, maintained that:

The reels were slowed down to fit the dance, and that’s when the dance became highlands. A highland is quicker than a strathspey – in between a strathspey and a reel.²⁶

When the performances of highlands by Donegal musicians who routinely played for house-dancing are examined, the typical tempo lies in a range of 160–180 crochets per minute, compared to strathspeys which, are commonly performed around 126–138 crochets per minute.²⁷ In 1851 John Thomas Surennes²⁸ noted the strathspey tempo as 94 minims per minute while James S. Kerr indicates a range of 96 minims and 120 per minute for

strathspeys and reels respectively.²⁹ Jean Duval and Stephen Jones indicate a tempo of 83–90 minims per minute of highlands as performed by Packie Manus Byrne,³⁰ and Pete Cooper indicates a tempo of 88 minims per minute for highlands.³¹ Breathnach is of the opinion that hornpipes should be played at a tempo of approximately 180 crochets per minute and reels around 224.³² In this case, highlands are generally played slower than hornpipes with the remnant dotted rhythm and strings of triplets characteristic of the strathspey adding to the distinction. The tempo of highlands is not a definitive or conclusive matter, however. Since highlands originated for dance accompaniment, their speed was originally directly controlled by the dancers' tempo choice and ability to dance to the tune. Yet, even with this controlling mechanism, the tempo of playing highlands varied between groups of dancers both within and between localities. Dancers in some localities preferred to dance to a relatively faster highland tempo while others liked them played slower.

To complicate the matter, as noted above, there were at least three different versions of the highland dance. In general the Irish highland required the tune to be played slightly slower, given the more complex movements.³³ With the gradual decline in traditional dancing over the past five decades, all forms of Donegal dance music have been changing from music for dancers to music for listeners. The break in the linkage with dance timing has resulted in players of highlands being able to perform them at speeds no longer related to dancing, something which has typically resulted in musicians playing them faster than they were performed historically – for the purposes of a heightened listening impact. A survey of the tempo values for all of the tunes in my Highland collection *From Dunkeld to Dunkineely* shows tempo extremes ranging from 140 to 228 crochets per minute. Danny O'Donnell intentionally played highlands at the dancer tempo which he played at house dances in his youth. This was typically around 145 crochets per minute.

Possible influence of the McGettigan recordings

One possible exception which contradicts the idea that highlands were historically played more slowly than they are today is the tempo of those recorded during the late 1920s and 1930s by bands led by Carrigart native, John McGettigan (1882–1965). These were played briskly, from 184 to 214 crochets per minute, a tempo faster than that typically played today, and particularly in contrast to the 145 cpm tempo of Danny O'Donnell; this speedier approach is also reflected in Hugh Gillespie's 1938 recording of 'The Finnea Lassies' and 'Gurren's Castle' (190 cpm). It is impossible to determine whether these performances reflect the highland dance tempo of the early 1900s as known to McGettigan and Gillespie in their youth in Donegal, or were they simply performances accelerated for listening impact. Another significant aspect of the McGettigan highlands recordings is the recent evidence indicating that they served as the source for some of the subsequent Coleman and Killoran recordings.³⁴

Melodic and rhythmic adjustments

In addition to tempo adjustments, some melodic changes also occurred in transforming strathspeys into highlands. The wider melodic intervals of strathspeys are sometimes compressed, and clusters of triplets, commonly descending at the end of tunes towards the

final tonic resolution in strathspeys, are sometimes simplified by changing the triplets to pairs of quavers corresponding to the first and last notes of the triplet group. Older Donegal players often referred to the need to put a ‘skip’ in the playing of a highland’s rhythm to perform it properly for dancers. In this case, where a sequence of triplets occurs in a strathspey the first triplet is substituted with a two-note interval, while the second triplet is retained to provide the ‘skip’ and then the sequence reverts without triplets. Another example of a device for injecting a skip into the rhythm of a highland can be found in John Doherty’s playing of ‘The Brown Sailed Boat’ (Peter Bailie). In this instance the Scottish snap combination of a semi-quaver and a dotted quaver on the first and third beat of the bar, immediately followed on the second and fourth beats by a pair of quavers, produces a marked skipping effect in the rhythm of the tune.

Scottish strathspeys commonly employ a string of four staccato semiquavers to enhance the melody. In changing strathspeys to highlands, Donegal musicians almost always substitute a triplet for the four semiquavers making the melody less angular and more fluid. Untypical of the Irish tradition in general, however, when playing highlands, Donegal fiddlers were quite happy to absorb some of the technical features of the Scottish tradition. In this case, they included playing in flat keys and in positions above the first – which are otherwise generally uncommon in other Irish regions.³⁵

Recent changes

Since the 1970s, three developments have affected the playing of highlands and strathspeys as well as the relative popularity of highland tunes within the overall Donegal and Irish repertoires. The first is the impact of commercially-recorded Donegal music, wherein recordings by John Doherty and others who played highlands have certainly changed the relative popularity of these tunes. The second factor, which also has clear links to commercial recordings, is the emergence of Donegal-repertoire-centred bands, a context in which there has been a degree of loss of older, rhythmic elements of the highland as a result of the dynamic ambitions of bands. Third is the fact that the Donegal tradition is a live, evolving one with continuous and new influences and ongoing, consequent changes. Low-cost air fares and land-travel costs have meant that the old connections with Scotland, which in the past were typically based on extended labouring periods, now offer the possibility of regular attendance at short-duration music events. So routine is the connection between Donegal and Scotland today that the communities in both places are served by a daily bus and ferry service between Letterkenny and Glasgow – ‘the bus’ – making it as easy to get to Glasgow as it is to Dublin. Over the first decade of the twenty-first century, Donegal and Scottish musicians are more routinely meeting and playing together, resulting in an enhanced tune-transfer between Irish and Scottish players.

While highlands were played throughout Donegal, they were neither uniformly popular nor significant in local repertoires across the county. Evidence indicates that the area of greatest popularity and with abundance of repertoire was in the southwest of the county centred around the villages of Kilcar, Teelin, Carrick and Glencolmcille. Another stronghold of highlands was in central Donegal taking in the Croaghs and the villages of Glenties and Ardara, extending southwards to the villages of Dunkineely, Mountcharles

and eastwards into Laghey, Pettigo and their rural hinterlands. One well-informed witness to the importance of highlands and their more complex melodic development in the local repertoire of southwest Donegal, the late Danny O'Donnell, a native of the Rosses in northwest Donegal, described how the highlands of his native area were played rhythmically, but in a melodically-simple manner, or with little divergence from the very basic melody line of the tune.⁴² He also recounted that the local repertoire had only a small number of the commonly-known highlands such as 'The Moneymusk' and 'The Braes of Mar'. During his late middle-age years he came to live in South West Donegal close to fiddlers Francie Dearn and Mickey Ban Uí Beirn, routinely socialising with them. In playing together he was astounded at the melodic complexity of their tunes, as well as the great abundance of highlands there compared to in his home place. This led him to dub the South West Donegal peninsula 'The Highland Factory'.

Conclusion

The emergence of the strathspey in the mid-1700s eventually led to melodies of that type being adapted to a rhythmically-freer, melodically simpler and slightly faster form of the highland. Though the highland is most prominent in County Donegal, it has been erroneously assumed to be a tune-type specifically of that county. It has also been confused, through complicated use of terminology, with the barn dance or german. And though it is has been shaped by the requirements of dancers over many decades, it is now largely a variable form of 'listening music'.

Notes

¹ James Oswald, *The Caledonian Pocket Companion*, in twelve parts (London, 1743–1759).

² James Gillespie, *A Collection of the Best and Most Favourite Tunes for the Violin in Four Parts – Also an Introduction and Directions for Playing the Violin* (Perth, 1768).

³ See James Scott Skinner, *A Guide to Bowing Strathspeys, Reels Pastoral Melodies, Hornpipes etc.* (Edinburgh: Bayley and Ferguson, 1900; 1984 reprint); William C. Honeyman, *Strathspey Players Past and Present* (Edinburgh: The Hardie Press, 1984; reprint of 1922 edition), pp. 41–51; William C. Honeyman, *Strathspey, Reel and Hornpipe Tutor* (Dundee: Honeyman Music, 1898; James Hunter, *The Fiddle Music of Scotland* (Edinburgh: W. R. Chambers, 1979) [descriptions of traditional Scottish bowing techniques].

⁴ This boundary has derived on the basis of the incorporation of strathspeys in the recordings of Michael Coleman, Paddy Killoran, and James Morrison.

⁵ Hugh Shields (ed.), *Tunes of the Munster Pipers, Irish Traditional Music from the James Goodman Manuscripts* (Dublin: Irish Traditional Music Archive, 1998).

⁶ *O'Farrell's Pocket Companion for the Irish or Union Pipes* (Dublin: 1805–1810). Vol. 3 (1808) of this collection series contains 'Sir Charles Douglas's Strathspey', Vol. 4 (1810) has 'Miss Admiral Gordon's Strathspey' as well as 'Lord Moira's Welcome to Scotland' (aka 'The Duke of Gordon's Birthday'). Other tunes, such as the latter, which are not indicated as strathspeys by title – but are considered to be strathspeys – also occur throughout the collection.

⁷ Nic Ghríanna, *Róise Rua, Róise Rua; Pádraig Ua Cnáimhsí* (eag.) (Baile Átha Cliath: Sarseail Ó Marcaigh, 1985).

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- ⁸ Patrick MacGill, *Children of the Dead End* (London: Herbert Jenkins, 1914); repr. *The Rat Pit* (London: Herbert Jenkins, 1915).
- ⁹ Personal comment, Jimmy and Vincent Campbell. See also *Hydro Days* by Pelicula Films, a documentary for BBC Scotland on life in the hydro dam bothies which features the recollections of Jimmy and Vincent Campbell.
- ¹⁰ Personal comment, Francie Dearg Ó Beirn.
- ¹¹ P. J. Giblin, *Collection of Traditional Irish dance Music edited and bowed scientifically for the violin: also 26 original compositions including 14 marches 9 new songs and an Irish saunter arranged for piano or violin*, 3rd edn reprint (Dublin: CRC, 2005).
- ¹² Michael Coleman, James Morrison and Paddy Killoran all recorded tunes that are considered today as highlands. In doing so they variously labelled them ‘flings’, ‘schottisches’ and ‘highland flings’.
- ¹³ Packie Dolan of Ahghadowry, Ballinacruk, County Longford recorded ‘The Keel Row’ and ‘Love Will You Marry Me’ under the title ‘Lasses of Donnybrook’ in May 1928 and listed them as Highland Flings. Playing in duet with Michael Coleman he recorded ‘Sterling Castle’ and ‘Lady Mary Ramsey’ in March 1927 under the title ‘Miss Ramsey’ where they were listed as ‘Highland Fling’. In contrast, in January, 1929 he recorded ‘The Killarney Wonder’ set listing the tunes as a Schottische.
- ¹⁴ Two tunes simply entitled Flings appear in the collection of over 1,000 transcriptions made by Pádraig O’Keeffe in the manuscript collection in the possession of the author.
- ¹⁵ Private recording c. 1978 made by the author.
- ¹⁶ A copy from the private MSS of James O’Neill, courtesy of Jim McGuire, Chicago.
- ¹⁷ Michael Kennedy and Joyce Bourne, eds, *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Music* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), p. 35.
- ¹⁸ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁹ Personal comment, Danny O’Donnell.
- ²⁰ James Scott Skinner, *The Elgin Collection* (London: Cramer, 1884).
- ²¹ Grace Orpen, *Dances of Donegal* (London: D. M. Wilkie, 1931).
- ²² Packie Manus Byrne, *A Dossan of Heather*, comp. and ed. by Jean Duval and Stephen Jones (Pacific, MO: Mel Bay, 2000).
- ²³ Personal comment, Cítí Bean Uí Mhaonaigh. See also Cairdeas na bhFidléirí’s DVD *Damhsaí Cúplaí Thir Chonaill: The Couple Dance of Donegal*, CNFDVD001, 2007.
- ²⁴ Personal comment, Cítí Bean Uí Mhaonaigh.
- ²⁵ Personal comment, Vincent Campbell.
- ²⁶ Byrne, Packie Manus (compiled and edited by Jean Duval and Stephen Jones) op. cit.
- ²⁷ Alastair J. Hardie, *The Caledonian Companion* (London: EMI Music, 1981).
- ²⁸ John Thomas Surenes, *The Dance Music of Scotland* (Edinburgh: Wood, 1851).
- ²⁹ James Kerr, *Kerr’s Collection of Merry Melodies (in four parts)* (Glasgow: Kerr, c. 1905).
- ³⁰ Duval and Jones in Byrne.
- ³¹ Peter Cooper, *Mel Bay’s Complete Irish Fiddle Player* (Pacific, MO: Mel Bay, 1995).
- ³² Breandán Breathnach, *Ceol Rince na hÉireann*, Vol. 1 (Baile Átha Cliath: Oifig an tSoláthair, 1963).
- ³³ Personal comment, Vincent Campbell.
- ³⁴ Caoimhín Mac Aoidh, *From Dunkeld to Dunkineely: The Highlands and Strathspeys of Donegal* (Béal Átha Seanaigh: CEO Teo, 2012).
- ³⁵ Caoimhín Mac Aoidh, *Between the Jigs and the Reels: The Donegal Fiddle Tradition* (Manorhamilton: Drumlin Publications, 1994).